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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

JANUARY 1986

CENTRAL AMERICAN MONTHLY REPORT #30

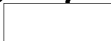


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PERSPECTIVE

The three newly elected governments in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras have generated high popular expectations and now must grapple with the region's daunting economic problems. Like the incumbent administrations in Panama and El Salvador, they face another year of declining per capita incomes with no upturn yet insight.



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The increase in world coffee prices and reduction in oil prices are unlikely to lead to a noticeable improvement in Central American economic performance this year. In our assessment, economic growth in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras at best will only slightly exceed modest 1985 performances--an average of 2 percent. Meanwhile, economic contraction is likely to continue in Guatemala and Panama.



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Costa Rica's near term stabilization prospects are mixed. Maintaining IMF support will require further budget cuts and tough new trade initiatives that business interests are sure to oppose. While President-elect Arias has said he will work with the IMF, he will likely move cautiously, and between now and his May inauguration the lame duck administration will have little incentive for pressing austerity. Overall, we predict 3 percent economic growth for San Jose this year, no improvement over 1985.



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This memorandum was prepared by the Central America North and South Branches, ALA. It was coordinated with the Directorate of Operations. It contains information available as of 3 January 1986. Questions and comments are welcome and should be addressed to Chief, Middle America-Caribbean Division, ALA.



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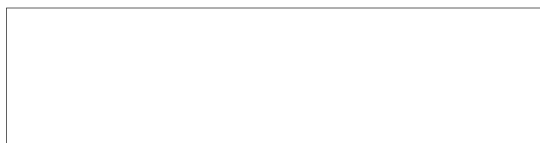


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Newly inaugurated Guatemalan President Cerezo faces unprecedented inflation, slashed living standards, and a depressed economy. Although   Cerezo's top economic advisers have recommended decisive economic reforms, including adopting an IMF stabilization program, so far he has temporized, and in fact granted a 50 percent government-wide pay increase and approved a large increase in the money supply. Of all the Central American economies, Guatemala will benefit the least from higher coffee and lower oil prices: much of Guatemala City's coffee was presold before the price increase and it is only a small net importer of oil. Overall, the best the economy is likely to do for 1986 is no growth, compared to a slight decline last year. 

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The lack of attention to corrective economic policies has been most noticeable in Honduras. Although President Azcona pledged to revitalize the economy in his inaugural address, we believe that domestic political opposition will preclude much progress. It is unlikely, for example, that he will be able to temper expansionary fiscal policies or unrealistic exchange rates. Organized labor, which torpedoed the last economic stabilization program in 1984, will intensify pressures for inflationary wage settlements. On balance, we expect sustained high levels of US economic aid to keep economic growth at about 2 percent for the second straight year. 

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We see only marginal economic growth for El Salvador because of the continued turmoil and stepped up insurgent attacks against economic targets. The President's new economic package announced in late January--his first since taking office in June 1984--addresses some budget and trade problems, but is unlikely by itself to restore either domestic or international confidence in the economy. While the program restricts growth in government spending and moderately devalues the colon, it also institutes new price and exchange controls and offers nothing in the way of investment or production incentives. Scheduled new infusions of US aid are likely to boost economic growth only slightly, from about 1 percent in 1985 to maybe 2 percent this year. 

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Panama's near-term outlook is poor in large part because President Delvalle lacks the domestic support required to implement stabilization measures. Although he has recently announced his new economic program, it probably will not meet foreign lenders' requirements and the new loan and debt rescheduling deals with commercial banks, the World Bank, and the IMF remain in jeopardy. Furthermore, the President's proposals for labor reform prompted immediate opposition, according to the Embassy. Delvalle, installed by the Defense Forces and lacking any political base, does not have the muscle to deliver on promised reforms. Investment will further decline and economic growth--which stagnated in 1985--will likely contract this year.

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NICARAGUA

The regime hardened its line with new economic policies to deal with both critics and pressing domestic problems. The US Embassy reports that a revision in the agrarian reform law dropped the size limitation on plots eligible for confiscation. Although this change institutionalizes common Sandinista practice, it also reduces the legal obstacles to seizing properties of uncooperative private sector leaders while providing more land for demobilized soldiers and discontented peasants. In addition, the regime has clamped down on vendors selling products above government-set prices in an ineffective attempt to reduce chronic shortages and distribution problems. Facing resistance to controls--including the murder of a price inspector in Managua--the Sandinistas have called on their mass organizations to aid in the campaign against "speculators." [redacted]

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The Sandinistas also began 1986 by closing the Catholic Church's radio station, while continuing their harassment of other opponents. The regime blamed the action on Radio Catolica's failure to broadcast President Ortega's New Year's speech. [redacted]

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[redacted] National Directorate member Victor Tirado predicted in October that the station would be closed and said the Church posed a major threat to the regime. Meanwhile, the pro-government media took advantage of Cardinal Obando y Bravo's trip to the United States in January to accuse him of serving Washington's policies and backing the anti-Sandinista insurgents. Managua also announced the discovery of a counterrevolutionary ring and implicated a local priest, an opposition coalition party, and an independent labor union in the conspiracy, according to the US Embassy. The Sandinistas likely will use this plot to justify further detentions and interrogation of potential enemies. In addition, state security suspended publication of a semi-weekly political flyer and arrested its editors. [redacted]

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Meanwhile, disputes within the democratic coalition are undermining the effectiveness of the opposition. Internal differences over a strategy for dealing with the Sandinistas caused a serious split this month when the coalition leadership publicly criticized a member party--the Social Christians--for participating in Spanish-sponsored talks with the regime, according to the US Embassy. The Social Christians now refuse to participate in joint activities with the coalition until a public apology is issued. In our view, the dispute is symptomatic of the internal rivalries and weak leadership that have long plagued the coalition. As a result, the organization has been largely inactive in challenging the regime, and the election, planned for March, of more effective coalition leaders appears unlikely. Indeed, the Sandinistas apparently consider the democratic opposition inconsequential--with the exception of private sector leader Enrique Bolanos [redacted]

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On the military side, Sandinista forces attacked rebel base camps on the Honduran border with artillery fire and at least one ground assault early in the month. [redacted]

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EL SALVADOR

In an effort to maintain the tactical initiative, the armed forces began the new year with their largest offensive operation in several months. "Operation Phoenix"--involving eight battalions and air, naval, and artillery support--is directed at rebel strongholds in the Guazapa volcano area. While initially planned to last about 30 days, [] that it may continue in a scaled-down version for several more months. In the first three weeks of the operation, the armed forces claimed to have killed 41 rebels, captured 183 guerrilla or guerrilla supporters, and seized sizable caches of arms, medical supplies, and insurgent documents. [] that the operation probably will disrupt guerrilla resupply and offensive operations for at least several weeks, although it is unlikely to drive the insurgents from the Guazapa region permanently. []

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Guerrilla activity tapered off during the latter half of the month following an extensive sabotage campaign and the first transportation ban of the new year. The US Embassy reported that the nation's electrical power grid was significantly damaged by the guerrillas' sabotage of almost 40 electrical pylons and that the capital and large portions of eastern El Salvador suffered lengthy blackouts. [] reporting also indicated that the guerrillas appear to be trying to make good on their promise to substantially increase their operations in the economically vital western region. [] that about 100 insurgents destroyed coffee processing facilities and about \$1 million worth of coffee during an attack on a town in Sonsonate Department. It is still unclear, however, whether these attacks represent the start of a major sustained campaign in the west or whether the rebels are trying to disrupt the coffee harvest. []

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HONDURAS

President Jose Azcona was inaugurated as scheduled on 27 January and agreed to give the opposition National Party control of the Supreme Court as well as several policy positions in the new Congress in return for its legislative cooperation, according to US Embassy reporting. The agreement reportedly promised that the government will pursue a bipartisan foreign policy that includes firm opposition to the Sandinistas and efforts to resolve the border dispute with El Salvador. Despite this agreement, we believe that Azcona--a minority President who controls only 46 of 134 congressional seats--is likely to enjoy only a short political honeymoon. []

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In our judgment, the sudden removal of armed forces Chief Lopez on 1 February harmed the new administration's image by reinforcing the impression that the military remains beyond civilian control. [redacted] Lopez was ousted by a powerful group of colonels after he tried to reassign them to insignificant positions as part of an effort to solidify his control over the military. [redacted]

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[redacted] the colonels--known as the "Fifth Promotion" class--intend to make all major military decisions, regardless of who is chosen to complete the remaining 11 months of Lopez's term. The group reportedly backs close cooperation with the US--including support for the Nicaraguan insurgency--but probably will take a tough stance in demanding increased attention to Tegucigalpa's economic and security concerns. Although [redacted] the leading officer in the Fifth Promotion, Colonel Riera, supports Azcona, we believe the group's record of political intrigue and corruption could portend difficult times for the new administration. [redacted]

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Despite almost daily Sandinista incursions in Honduran territory throughout January, the Honduran Government remained reluctant to retaliate as they did last September. The Honduran military and outgoing government appeared intent on trying to avoid a major military confrontation with Nicaragua on the eve of President Azcona's inauguration, despite Honduran military reports of several Honduran troop and civilian fatalities. Tegucigalpa, for example, discreetly returned a Nicaraguan AN-2 Colt plane in mid-January that had been flown to Honduras by a Nicaraguan Air Force defector last December. [redacted] [redacted]

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GUATEMALA

President Cerezo--inaugurated on 14 January--faced his first political challenge when the police peacefully expelled several thousand squatters who had occupied government lands on inauguration day, according to the US Embassy. He subsequently established an "emergency council" to investigate housing shortages. The US Embassy reported that the new President's response reassured some private sector critics who feared that the Christian Democratic government would not protect property rights. Cerezo's early cabinet appointments--including a pro-business Finance Minister--appear to reinforce the judgment that he will pursue pragmatic and cautious policies, at least initially. [redacted]

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US Embassy and [redacted] that the military appeared satisfied with the appointment of Brigadier General Hernandez as the new Minister of Defense. [redacted] many in the military believe the politically neutral Hernandez--due to retire from the military in six months--may be asked to stay on in the post as a civilian to allow Cerezo to avoid choosing between more controversial officers. [redacted]

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Cerezo further sought to ease military apprehensions about his administration by renewing assurances that he would not try military officers for past human rights abuses. Meanwhile, the new Interior Minister announced that the government would follow through on its promise to abolish the Directorate of Technical Investigations. He did not indicate, however, when or if the controversial secret police would be incorporated into the National Police. [redacted]

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The insurgents conducted no major operations during January. [redacted]

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[redacted] there appears to be a general consensus that their interests are best served by adopting a wait and see attitude and reassessing their options after Cerezo more clearly spells out his policies. [redacted]

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PANAMA

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In an apparent effort to influence US policy, Defense Chief Noriega in mid-January

[redacted] said he might remove President Delvalle, [redacted]

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[redacted] Seemingly riled by US refusal to disburse aid funds until economic reforms are in place, the Defense Chief probably believed that he could loosen some purse strings by bruited reports of impending changes. If this tactic fails, or if Delvalle remains unable to develop an economic plan, Noriega could orchestrate the President's removal and the installation of a more competent if compliant civilian junta. [redacted]

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Meanwhile, Noriega reinforced his control over the military with his reassignments to the General Staff and other key commands. [redacted] the Intelligence Chief--implicated in plotting against Noriega at the time of the Spadafora murder last September--was transferred to a minor command. His replacement and the new deputy are both staunch Noriega loyalists. The Defense Chief chose a trusted family member to command the key Battalion 2000, which has a large concentration of troops headquartered near the capital. [redacted]

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COSTA RICA

Oscar Arias, candidate of the governing National Liberation Party, will be installed as President in May following his decisive victory over Social Christian Unity opponent Rafael Calderon in elections on 2 February. The ruling party also won a majority of seats in the unicameral legislature, according to press reports. Although the President-elect acknowledges a clear Sandinista threat, he apparently believes Costa Rica can coexist with Nicaragua and sees his election as a mandate for peace, according to the US Embassy. Nevertheless, Arias plans to continue upgrading the security forces, [redacted]

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[redacted] On economic issues, the new President has pledged growth led by the private sector, increased exports, and an attractive investment climate. The US Embassy reports that Arias plans an early visit to Washington to head off foreign assistance cuts, warning that Costa Rica's economy is too fragile to withstand a drop in aid levels. [redacted]

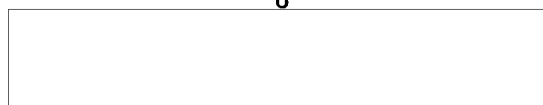
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REGIONAL PEACE TALKS

Following their meeting in Caraballeda, Venezuela on 12 January, the Contadora mediators and the support group proposed nine specific actions to end the impasse created in December when Nicaragua called for a six-month suspension of the talks. The proposals, endorsed by the Central Americans several days later, include an end to support for regional insurgencies and international military maneuvers, the phasing out of foreign military bases and advisers, arms reductions, and steps toward national


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reconciliation. The mediators and support group also offered their good offices to facilitate renewed talks between the US and Nicaragua. In a separate statement the Central Americans agreed to consider forming a regional parliament and to hold a Presidential summit in May. 

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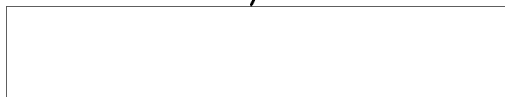
Reports from various US Embassies point to contradictory interpretations of the Contadora declaration. Mexico and Colombia, as well as Nicaragua, apparently see implementation of the nine actions and a resumption of US-Nicaraguan talks as preconditions for further treaty talks. Honduras, on the other hand, envisions talks between the US and Nicaragua and between the Sandinistas and their opposition proceeding simultaneously with renewed negotiations on the draft treaty. 

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The Sandinistas will likely face more pressure to undertake internal reforms although they were able to defuse charges of blocking the negotiations and gained endorsement of their two key objectives in the treaty process--an end to the US military presence in the area and resumption of talks with the US. Meanwhile, differences in opinion over the nine proposed steps probably will divert attention from substantive negotiations on the draft treaty, at least for a while. Managua will use scheduled regional meetings to lobby the new governments in Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica for more flexible terms and to press for bilateral accords. 

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[redacted]

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NICARAGUAN MILITARY BUILDUP

Late December

[redacted]
[redacted] Cubans train Nicaraguan pilots on MI-8, MI-17, and MI-24 helicopters, and four Soviet pilots conduct training exercises on AN-2 and AN-26 transport aircraft.
[redacted]

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3 January

Soviet ship carrying unspecified military-associated cargo arrives in Corinto [redacted]
[redacted] photography. [redacted]

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4 January

Imagery reveals two storage/support areas partially completed and possible bunkered storage site near completion at Esteli radar site. [redacted]

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6 January

Satellite imagery shows Nicaraguan ship Aracely, carrying some 26 containers on deck [redacted]
general cargo, arrived in Puerto Cabezas from Mariel, Cuba. Nicaraguan ship Nicarao also seen in Puerto Cabezas. [redacted]

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11-12 January

Three AN-2 and two MI-2 helicopters observed on overhead imagery at Sandino Airfield were transported from Rama in military convoy of 33 vehicles, according to [redacted]

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[redacted] Two Top Bar mobile communications vans observed near Managua on overhead photograph probably part of same convoy. Second convoy of 30 vehicles seen transporting probable helicopter components, according to same sources. [redacted]
[redacted]

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13 January

Two short take-off and landing aircraft obtained by Interior Ministry from East Germany being assembled at Los Brasiles Airfield by East German technicians, [redacted]
[redacted] The aircraft reportedly will be used for reconnaissance and for transporting officials to sectors of country lacking good airstrips. [redacted]
[redacted]

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Mid-January

[redacted] Soviet technicians assemble up to nine MI-8 and MI-25 helicopters at Sandino Airfield. Current estimates of Sandinista helicopter inventory are 21 MI-8/17's and 12 MI-25's. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[Redacted]

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SIGNIFICANT NICARAGUAN POLITICAL EVENTS

JANUARY 1986

1 January	Nicaraguan Ministry of Interior closes down church radio station, "Radio Catolica," due to failure to broadcast President Ortega's New Year's message. [Redacted]	25X1
12 January	Contadora Foreign Ministers' meeting in Venezuela issues Caraballeda document which lists nine actions as a basis for peace to promote resumption of Contadora negotiations. [Redacted]	25X1
16 January	While attending Guatemalan inauguration, Central American Foreign Ministers endorse Caraballeda document and Presidents of Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and President-elect of Honduras issue similar declaration. [Redacted]	25X1
22 January	United Nicaraguan Opposition leaders Arturo Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and Adolfo Calero announce outline of their proposal for provisional government of national reconciliation in Nicaragua. [Redacted]	25X1

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

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NICARAGUAN HUMAN RIGHTS CHRONOLOGY

During January, Sandinista allegations of guerrilla human rights violations declined significantly, but another report points to rebel abuses of Honduran locals living near guerrilla base camps. Honduran nationals also suffered abuses from Sandinistas who crossed the border from Nicaragua in search of rebel bases. Meanwhile, Managua continued its crackdown on internal dissidents and made plans to protect its international human rights image in coming months.

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Insurgent Human Rights Record

12 January

[REDACTED]

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15 January

Honduran President-elect Azcona

[REDACTED] claims insurgents persistently engage in criminal activities against Hondurans ranging from petty theft and cattle stealing to rape and armed assault.

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23 January

[REDACTED]

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Sandinista Human Rights Record

2 January

[REDACTED] Sandinista troops bombed a civilian residence, killing two children and wounding the mother and two other children.

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6 January

[REDACTED]

25X1

[REDACTED]

25X1

7 January

[REDACTED] the special military unit assigned to the Interior Ministry does not take prisoners during field operations.

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[REDACTED] the guerrillas report that Sandinista troops

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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arrested and tortured locals in southern Zelaya Department for allegedly aiding the rebels. In one incident a child was allegedly wounded by random Sandinista gunfire. [REDACTED]

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10 January

The proregime press reports two Sandinista soldiers received long prison terms for the October murder of an evangelical minister in Esteli. The progovernment evangelical organization applauded the sentences as proof of the regime's concern for human rights [REDACTED]

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16 January

The Honduran military reports that Sandinista troops operating inside Honduras robbed a civilian family, [REDACTED]

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18 January

Proregime press reports that security officials suspend publication of Prisma, a news publication, for violating press censorship laws. [REDACTED]

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Speaking at a news conference during his recent visit to Guatemala, President Ortega denies his government systematically violates human rights, but admits that violations still occur, saying that 20 military men had been tried for such abuses [REDACTED]

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19 January

The US Embassy reports that regime harassment of the recently established Catholic Church human rights office has blocked investigations of complaints [REDACTED]

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20 January

[REDACTED] Sandinista troops operating in Honduras killed a civilian and took her two sons back into Nicaragua. [REDACTED]

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21 January

A US defense attache source in southern Zelaya Department reports that Sandinista troops arrested nearly 300 locals on suspicion of aiding rebels in the area. [REDACTED]

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22 January

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[redacted]

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[redacted] on the Atlantic coast reports the regime enticed a large group of Indians to return to Nicaragua from camps in Honduras with promises that they could occupy their traditional lands. Instead, the Sandinistas confined them to a camp to force them to work in the local gold mines. [redacted]

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25 January

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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27 January

[redacted]

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28 January

According to press reports, four civilians were killed and several others wounded, including an American Indian activist traveling with Miskito Indian rebels along Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, when Sandinista troops fired rockets into a village. [redacted]

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30 January

[redacted]

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31 January

Insurgents patrolling in the salient reported that between 18 and 21 January, Sandinista troops raped one Honduran national and murdered six others. [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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[Redacted]

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NICARAGUAN TRIPS/VISITS

JANUARY 1986

4 January Vice President Ramirez departs for Guatemala to attend Third Central American Games. [Redacted] 25X1

8 January Czech Culture Minister Klusak arrives in Managua for five day visit. [Redacted] 25X1

14 January President Ortega and Foreign Minister D'Escoto visit Guatemala for inauguration of President Cerezo during which Ortega also meets with Presidents Betancur and Duarte. [Redacted] 25X1

15 January Spanish Foreign Minister Ordonez visits Managua and meets with President Ortega, National Directorate member Nunez, and members of the opposition coalition. [Redacted] 25X1

[Redacted]

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22 January [Redacted] 25X1

23 January-8 February Nicaraguan trade delegation headed by Minister of Foreign Cooperation Ruiz to travel to eastern Europe and Soviet Union. 25X1

27 January Vice President Ramirez to Honduras for inauguration of President-elect Azcona. [Redacted] 25X1

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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COMING EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA DURING FEBRUARY

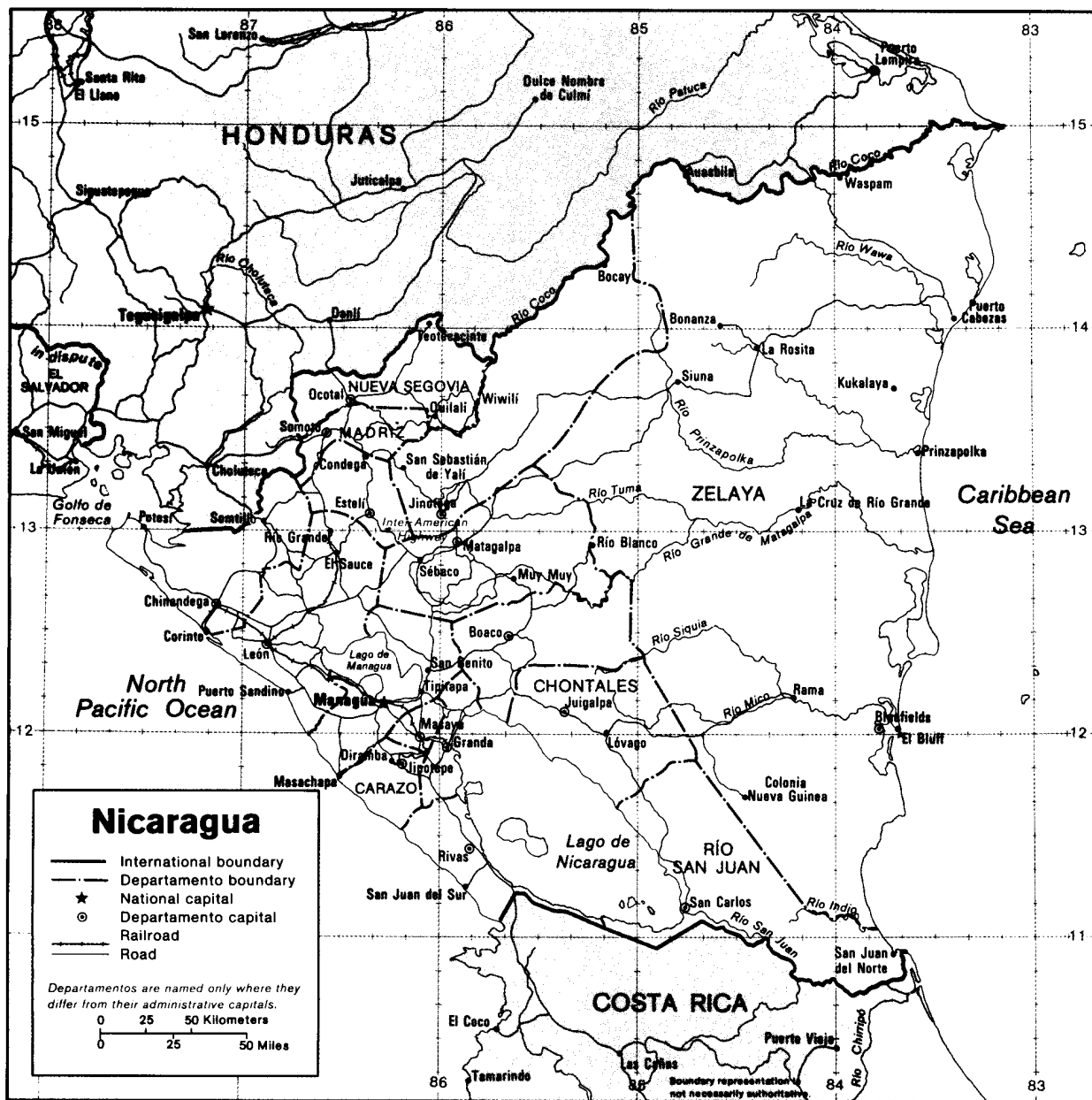
4-11 February	Socialist International delegation to visit Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Guatemala. [Redacted]	25X1
6-7 February	Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador scheduled to meet to discuss strategy for Contadora peace negotiations. [Redacted]	25X1
6-11 February	Former President Jimmy Carter to visit Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. [Redacted]	25X1
10 February	Contadora Foreign Ministers representing mediators and support group to meet with Secretary of State Shultz.	
10-12 February	Sandinista National Liberation Front to hold conference of Latin American political leaders to which representatives of almost all parties holding elected office have been invited. [Redacted]	25X1
14-15 February	Contadora Plenipotentiary meeting scheduled in Panama. [Redacted]	25X1
21 February	Outline of Nicaraguan draft constitution scheduled to be presented to National Assembly. [Redacted]	25X1
	Fifty-second anniversary of Sandino's death. [Redacted]	25X1

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- 82 - CAN Files
- 83 - CAS Files

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DDI/ALA/MC/CAS/[Redacted] (1 November 1985)

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